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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING OF FOREIGN COMMUNISTS

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TRENDS IN MOSCOW'S TRAINING OF FOREIGN COMMUNISTS

1. Introduction

One of the CPSU's earliest and most effective methods of exerting control and coordination over the International Communist Movement was through its indoctrination and training of foreign Communists. Thus, the training of foreign Communists within Party schools in the USSR has long been an integral and important part of the Communist movement. The greatest peak of such activity was reached during the Comintern period. After World War II there was an obvious curtailment in the number of foreign Communists who received special Party training in the Soviet Union, and an evident contraction of the elaborate system of schools which had existed. A certain amount of training for foreign Communists continued to be carried out in the USSR -- but on a much reduced scale.

At the present time there is evidence pointing to an expanding program of training Communists from other countries in Party schools within the USSR. While the evidence is not firm, there is reason to believe that this expanding program may have commenced around the time of Stalin's death (1953)*. At any rate, it has become evident that within the last few years especially, an increasing number of foreign Communist functionaries have been traveling to the USSR for Party training. ~~current information indicates that this program is being expanded still further.~~

Factors concerning the identities and selection of trainees, their travel patterns, the schools attended and the courses studied pose a difficult intelligence target. It is nonetheless an important one. The CPSU's apparent current interest in the training of foreign Communists probably reflects not only a desire to produce better Party activists and infuse the Communist movement

* Its inception, however, may have preceded this date. In February 1952, Stalin himself noted "the inadequate level of Marxist development of the majority of the Communist Parties in foreign countries" when he called for a new textbook of Marxist political economy.

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with fresh enthusiasm, but also a deliberate attempt to foster loyalty and subservience to the Soviet Party among the next generation of foreign Communist Party leaders. There is also current evidence to suggest that, in a few instances, some Communist functionaries may be deliberately sent to study in the USSR in order that their own Party leaders can in their absence better restore ideological unity within their Party.

While this paper is concerned only with the trends of CPSU training, some comment is applicable about CP China in this connection. During 1956, for instance, CP China trained a considerable number of Latin American Communists who are not known to have received CPSU training. It is not yet apparent what relationship this training activity on the part of CP China has to the CPSU's training program for foreign Communists. It may be a normal division of labor, with the Chinese Communists handling particularly Communist trainees from underdeveloped countries. In the case of one Latin American CP, however, it is reliably reported that in late 1956 one of the highest-ranking leaders of the Party began his studies under CPSU direction in Moscow. On the other hand, training by both the CPSU and CP China is indicated in at least one case involving another very high-ranking leader of the same CP. ~~Thus, the principle of selectivity may be involved in this situation.~~ Possibly the CPSU, as the leader of the international movement, will concentrate not only on the training of Communists from the advanced countries but also on the topmost leaders of CPs from underdeveloped areas. The situation with respect to China, however, is an important one to watch. Some Latin American Communists are reliably reported to have remarked that they found CP China's experience more applicable to Latin American countries than that of the CPSU.

2. Selection of Students

Whereas in the Satellites the dispatching of Communists to Soviet Party schools is more or less routine, within the CPs of the ~~Free~~ ^{Free} World the program of sending such trainees to the USSR varies considerably.

Satellites

Reliable defector and other information shows that a regular program

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exists whereby selected Party functionaries from the Satellites are sent yearly to CPSU schools. There is also evidence that the schools of the Satellite CPs themselves are, in most instances, modeled so closely on the Soviet pattern that a student completing with some distinction a required number of years in one of the important training establishments of his own Party may -- according to a prearranged program -- move on to the parallel Soviet Party school for "advanced" study.

While selection of a student by a Satellite CP obviously entails consideration of his known loyalty and proven ability, there is also reason to believe that Satellite Parties are expected to send each year a significant "quota" of students to CPSU schools. ~~In this connection,~~ evidence suggests that the Satellite Parties feel it incumbent on themselves not only to hold up their end of this program numerically, but also to prove to the CPSU, through proper selection of students for specific schools, their ideological and political astuteness. It is suspected, however, that often the emphasis is on quantity rather than quality in the selection of students.

Indicative of how this matter is handled by the Satellites is a 1955 document of one Satellite Party. According to this document, the Party Secretariat had as one of its tasks the "organizing and selection of students" for study in various CPSU establishments. This task included not only the composition of the student delegation, but also the determination of which ones should attend what schools and whether they should take a ~~2~~ ^{three -} year course or a ~~3~~ year course. The "responsible section" (presumably of the Central Committee apparatus) was listed as the Section of Leading Party Organs, which was the cadre section of the Party.

Other CPs

Without the uniform conditions which obtain in the Satellites, in other CPs the program of sending Party functionaries to CPSU schools has been influenced by a variety of factors: the extent of the training program of the indigenous Party itself; the general availability of trained leaders; the conditions of legality or circumscription under which the Party operates; its financial ability to help underwrite transportation costs of students; its

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importance and potential both internally as well as in relation to other CPs; the dictates of specific Party programs requiring greater specialized training; the desire to establish closer contacts with the CPSU; and many other factors. Both seasoned Party functionaries as well as youthful, less experienced activists have been included in this program.

Available evidence pointing to an ~~expanding~~ ^{training} program for foreign Communists in the USSR relates largely to Western European and Western Hemisphere CPs, and, in several cases, appears to be the first program of any consequence since World War II. It is possible that an acceleration in such training is also taking place for CPs in the Middle and Far East, but there is little evidence available as yet to indicate this. With respect to Western Europe and the Western Hemisphere, however, current evidence shows that while both seasoned functionaries as well as youthful activists continue to be included in the training program, there appears to be a deliberate effort — and on a greater scale than heretofore — of sending to CPSU training establishments the rising generation of future Party leaders. This evidence is strikingly similar in several widely separated countries.

From one country, for instance, 19 Party functionaries departed earlier this year to continue their Party training in the USSR. Of these, over 10 were born in the middle or late 1920's. From another country, 9 functionaries are presently receiving training in the USSR; of these, over 7 were born in the middle or late 1920's. From still another country it is reliably reported that over 25 Party activists are attending a special school in the USSR. They are believed to be in this same general age group. In yet another country, 8 Party functionaries are reliably reported to have returned after an extended period of training in the Soviet Union. Several of these returnees are known to hold positions of importance in the middle echelon of Party leadership. In the case of ^{two} other countries, there is an interesting parallel in the reports that the son of a high Party official in each country was among the youths selected to receive Party training in the USSR. The selection of rising younger functionaries is apparent in other in-

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formation relating to trainees scheduled to begin their training in the USSR this summer.

Students attend short-term refresher courses as well as undergo long-term training. A ^{six-} ~~4~~ week course (or "42-day course") is evidently attended by some of the better qualified foreign Communists whose stay in the USSR is thus of a comparatively short duration. The youthful or middle-echelon Communists remain for longer periods, and are apparently selected for courses of specific duration before their departure. A course of ~~2 1/2~~ ^{three} years appears to be the most common, but reliable reports also show that there are courses of ~~3, 4 and 5~~ ^{two and one} year periods. One group of students from the same country may contain trainees scheduled for courses of varying lengths.

It is evident that the procedure followed in the selection of specific trainees for Soviet Party schools varies from country to country and even within the same country. Some trainees are chosen on the basis of their proven organizational skill in Party work. Others are reportedly selected from among those who have progressed through the hierarchy of the sectional, provincial, inter-regional and national schools of their own Party. Some find themselves at a CPSU school because it became prudent for them to leave their own country. Others, who hold positions of responsibility in their Party, attend courses in the USSR in order to enhance both their skill and their prestige. Still others are believed to be the deliberate choice of present Party leaders in order either to bolster their own position through the creation of a Moscow-trained cadre having a personal loyalty, or to rid themselves temporarily of functionaries causing Party dissension.

While the bulk of evidence suggests that the actual selections of trainees are made by the foreign CP itself (with CPSU concurrence obtained afterwards), a report received earlier this year referred specifically to an invitation which had been received by ^{four} ~~the~~ youthful cadre workers in one country to attend a special Party school in the USSR. It is not yet evident whether this indicates a new trend and the CPSU itself is beginning to exercise greater influence and control over the selection of foreign Communist trainees for

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Soviet Party schools. But such a development would be in line with a CPSU desire to reaffirm its supremacy over the Communist movement and to ensure the loyalty of the best and most active elements within the foreign CPs.

3. Arrangements for Students

Evidence suggests that for the most part the foreign Communist trainees experience considerable isolation while attending Soviet Party schools. Although one report indicates very clearly that even after a stay of ^{three} 7 years in the USSR, a returning trainee had a good knowledge of political and Party events which had taken place in his native country during his absence, this case may be unusual. Developing dissension in his Party at home caused his recall from the USSR in order that he could bolster the current Party leadership; obviously he had to be briefed about events, and this may have been simplified by the fact that in many of his courses in the USSR he was taught by members of his own Party. In another case, that of a Satellite CP, it is known that the Party leadership was disappointed to find its returning trainees out of touch with the facts of life in the country and by and large too theoretical, with little "contact with the workers."

Evidence about the physical isolation of the foreign Communist trainees in the USSR is more conclusive. Not only are they apparently removed from general contact with the Soviet community, they are ~~exclusively~~ also kept apart from visiting members of their own Party — even those from their home town — whose Party business does not take them to the school. This situation may stem in part from the demanding regime of the schools themselves, but is more likely the result of the stringent security measures which have always characterized Communist training.

Little information is available about arrangements made to handle correspondence between the trainees and their families. Probably such arrangements are dictated by the situation of legality or circumscription in which the national Party operates as well as the circumstances surrounding the individual trainee's travel and cover. One case is known where a mailing address was available to a trainee's family. Letters could be sent to him in

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his true name and addressed to a specific post office box (Pochtovy Yashchik) in Moscow. In another case, reports indicate that no arrangements were made—the trainee, ~~and~~ apparently on his own, sent letters home via fellow Party members who were returning before he did. He is reliably reported to have received no correspondence from his family.

Despite the isolation while in school, however, one very interesting trend has been apparent in the case of at least some Communist trainees from countries not too distant from the USSR. Some of the trainees are being returned to their own countries at regular intervals in order to enjoy a vacation. Several trainees from at least two countries are known to have returned home for a few weeks at Christmas time. Some are also known to have had summer holidays at home last year. Available information is not yet sufficient to conclude that this will be a general pattern, but for countries within easy flying time of Moscow it appears a likely possibility.

In the case of Communist trainees from countries too far removed from the USSR to make it feasible for them to return home for vacations, only one report is available to indicate holiday arrangements. It may, however, reflect the general procedure. According to this report, the students are given summer vacations at a resort in the Crimea.

Travel arrangements for trainees also vary according to Party and individual. In one group of trainees from the same country, for instance, it is reported that some held proper passports with the required visas but that one or two in the group left the country without any documentation. In the case of some trainees from another country, it is reported that their passports were not valid for the USSR; they simply went on to the Soviet Union from the nearest country permitted by the passport and any Soviet/Satellite stamps or visas were provided for by loose cards rather than on the passport. In other cases the trainees travel quite openly and directly. It is obvious that infinite variations are practiced to effect the travel of various trainees. It is also obvious that the CPSU must underwrite a considerable portion of the over-all expenses involved.

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Available evidence indicates that once within the USSR the trainee's passport is turned over to Soviet authorities and is returned to him only on his departure from the country. One case may be cited of the travel documentation provided for a returning trainee. When ready to leave the Soviet Union, he received back his passport which had been doctored to show visas and proper entry-exit stamps for various Western European countries as well as two return trips to his own country and a passport renewal—all this falsified by the Soviets in order to conceal his continuous stay in the USSR.

It might also be noted that in the case of certain trainees from several Latin American countries, it is reliably reported that these may frequently return to other than their native countries. This situation probably results from the fact that they cannot return to their own countries. It also attests to the Soviet ability to provide documentation enabling these individuals to enter and take up residence in countries other than their own.

4. Schools and Courses

In the great majority of cases it is impossible to determine the specific Party school in the USSR which is attended by any one individual trainee or group of Communists from other countries. Evidence is often vague and nomenclature confusing. Certain schools are known to exist and the presence of foreign Communists has been reported at each. It is also quite possible that there are other schools which have not yet been identified. At the present time, this subject can only be treated in terms which have general application.

Three training and research establishments of the CPSU are located in Moscow and are controlled directly by the CPSU's Central Committee. These are the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Foreign Communists have been reported at each. In addition, it has been reliably reported that a special school for foreign Communists is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino (possibly also known as Pushkin or Pushkinskoye). Finally, training of foreign Communists

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from regions of the Middle East and Far East has been reported in cities in the USSR adjacent to these areas. The most persistently reported school of this sort is at Tashkent where Arab cadres are allegedly trained.

Confusion in the identification of Soviet schools appears to be due in part to the various names and descriptions given to the courses studied and also to the different lengths of time which may be involved. It is suspected that any one of the known Soviet schools is flexible enough to account for these factors.

Higher Party School

As the name implies, this school is the apex of the regular CPSU schooling system which includes also establishments at lower divisions of the Party organization. It was established originally in 1939 and was reorganized in 1946. The rector of the school is still believed to be N.R. METRONOV, although he was last identified in this position in 1955. For several years the address of the school has been: 6 Miusskaya Polochchad, D-47, Moscow.

The chief purpose of the Higher Party School is the training of Party and Soviet administrators, as opposed to theoreticians. The training encompasses both ideological ^{and} political matters as well as practical courses which would be particularly useful to those responsible for Party and government administrative procedures and activities. It is undoubtedly for this reason that Satellite Communists in particular have been reported at this school, although reliable reports have also placed other foreign trainees at the Higher Party School. There is some reason to believe, however, that at least some of those non-Orbit Communists may have been attending certain special lectures at the school rather than participating in a regular course. It is possible, though no other evidence supports this, that a separate division exists in the school in order to handle specialized training for non-Orbit Communists.

While it is difficult to know to what extent the school's known regulations are applicable to non-Soviet students, they may be useful in

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helping to pinpoint future identification of the school. According to an announcement made in 1956, for instance, the school has changed from a ~~2~~^{two-} year to a ~~1~~^{year} year course of study. It was also announced that no entrance examinations are given for admission to this school. Students are admitted on the basis of recommendations by provincial, territorial or Central Committees within the union republic CPs. Students must not be over ~~20~~^{forty} years of age, and must have had a higher education and experience in administrative, Party, Soviet or journalistic work.

The following subjects were listed by the Large Soviet Encyclopedia of 1951 as those studied at the school: history of the CPSU; history of the USSR; general history; political economy; dialectical and historical materialism; logic; international relations and foreign policy of the USSR; economic and political geography; Russian language and literature; foreign language; foundations of the Soviet economy and the practical direction of the branches of the national economy; Party organization; State law and Soviet organization; and journalism for individual newspaper editors.

According to a defector report, some foreign Communists from non-Orbit Parties attended certain lectures at the Higher Party School which covered not only world history but also military tactics, including guerrilla warfare. This is the only indication that courses of this sort might be given at the Higher Party School.

Academy of Social Sciences

This is the leading CPSU establishment for the training of theoreticians, and should not be confused with the USSR Academy of Sciences which is a state institution involved in scientific research in all fields. The purpose of the Academy of Social Sciences is to train theoreticians for work in central Party institutions, the Central Committees and other Committees within the union republic CPs, as well as for work in higher scientific establishments in the USSR. Although the Academy of Social Sciences was opened in 1946, it is actually a revival of the former Communist Academy which functioned in the 1920's and early ~~1930's~~^{1930's}.

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Because of its importance as a Marxist institution, the Academy's instructors are high-ranking CPSU officials and the foremost theoreticians and propaganda specialists in the Soviet Union, including those in the social science sections of the Academy of Science. The Academy's present rector is believed to be Prof. (fnu) DOROKHOV who apparently succeeded F.V. KONSTANTINOV in this position in late 1955 when KONSTANTINOV became chief of the Agitprop Section of the Central Committee, CPSU. In 1956, the address of the Academy appeared as: Sadovo-Kudrinskaya 9, Moscow.

While there is reliable evidence to show that Satellite CP trainees are sent to the Academy of Social Sciences for study, there is no firm evidence to indicate that other foreign Communists are also trained there. Nevertheless, in view of the Academy's purpose and importance, it is felt that selected foreign Communists very probably do receive "advanced" theoretical training either in regular courses at the Academy or in special courses arranged specifically for the foreign students. When foreign Communists are reported to be receiving "advanced political instruction" in the USSR—and with no other indication as to school or course—they may well be enrolled at the Academy. Satellite Communists are sent on a regular basis, frequently coming directly from the Social Sciences school attached to their own Parties.

The length of courses at the Academy ^{has} been variously described. Pravda in 1954 stated that the period of study was ^{three} years. Party Life in 1956 listed the term of study at ^{four} years. A report about Satellite students stated that they would study at the Academy for a period of ^{five} years. There may also be shorter, intensified courses related to certain current problems or trends affecting Marxist theory.

While it would not be expected that regulations affecting Soviet students would be particularly applicable to foreign Communists, they may reflect something more about the Academy. Soviet aspirants are considered from among those Party members, recommended by various committees in union republic CPs, who have been in the Party at least ^{five} years, who are not more than ^{forty} years of age, who have completed their higher education, had experience in Party work, research and training, and have published articles

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and pamphlets. Admission is handled on the basis of competitive examinations in which the aspirant may be queried in a field of his chosen speciality, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in a foreign language. He is also required to present an essay dealing with his selected speciality.

Although students apparently concentrate over the whole period on a single subject only, the Academy's syllabus is a wide one. Fields of study have been listed as: political economy; the economics and politics of foreign countries; theory of the state and law; international law; international relations; history of the USSR; history of the CPSU; world history; dialectical and historical materialism; Western European philosophy; logic, psychology; and literature and art. It has been reported that the Academy is broken down into two departments: a Department of History, which is concerned with Party history; and a Department of International Relations, which prepares specialists in this field for central Party establishments, research institutions and work on theoretical publications.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism

It is more difficult to describe accurately this CPSU establishment. It is the Party's top research institution on the problems of Communism, and it has a long history. It was once called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin (as a result of the merger of the Lenin Institute and the Marx-Engels Institute), and for a few years was called the Institute of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In 1956 its name was changed to its present one.

The Institute is publicized largely for its responsibility to collect, study and publish documents and historical materials pertaining to the founders of the Communist Party and to their leading continuers in the CPSU. Stress is laid on its "research" work into the history of the CPSU, but this work also includes the study of the history of the international workers' movement. The CPSU boasts that the Institute is unique in the world for its store of reading material on the history of Marxism and international socialist and Communist workers' movements. While its role as a research institute tends to confuse its status as a "training school", it apparently

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functions as both. Even before World War II it was reliably reported that through "research" work in the Institute, specialists were developed in various fields of political science—in the science and history of the class struggle in Russia and in various other countries of the world. In the mid-1930's, the Institute reportedly catered to foreigners on special recommendation.

Within the last few years, several reports have referred to foreign CP functionaries who have studied recently at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, but these reports are of undetermined reliability. In one case, the secretary general of a CP was reported to have spent ^{two} months at the Institute attending "courses" which particularly stressed political, economic and social developments affecting his own area of the world. Reportedly this led, while still at the Institute, to the formulation of a new Party policy better designed to meet those developments. Other recent reports about the Institute have referred to courses concerned with organizational problems, youth movements, socialist legislature, mass agitation, infiltration tactics, etc. It is impossible to evaluate these reports on the basis of what is known about the Institute. It is suspected, however, that several reports may have confused the type of work done at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism with what was once taught at the International Lenin School during the Comintern period. Nevertheless, it is believed that foreign Communists do in fact study at the Institute.

Indicative of some of the work done by the Institute was the announcement earlier this year that the Institute would publish a new magazine, Problems of History of the CPSU (Voprosy istorii KPSS). The basic functions of the magazine were stated to be "to present scholarly treatment of problems of the history of the CPSU, particularly of the period since the October revolution; to help teachers and propagandists in studying and teaching Party history in higher educational institutions and in the Party educational system; to review new literature on problems of Party history, and to elucidate the history of fraternal Communist and Workers' parties and the international workers' movement."

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In 1952, the address of the Institute was listed as: 5 Ulitsa Marksa i Engel'sa, Kievsky Raion, Moscow. For several years the director has been G.D. OBICHKIN, and the deputy director STEPANOVA. The Chairman of the Division on History of the CPSU was identified in 1956 as M.D. STUCHEBNIKOVA. Two members of the research staff also identified in 1956 were LEVINA and ROMANOVA. The importance of the Institute to the CPSU is reflected in some of its previous directors. These have included M.B. MITIN, V.S. KHUZHKOV, and P.N. POSPELOV.

In addition to the Institute located in Moscow, the union republics and some territories in the USSR have branches of the Institute. In this connection, it should be noted that one report has stated that although the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow is the highest training establishment for members of one foreign CP, the next in importance is a branch of the Institute located in an area of the USSR closer to the specific foreign country.

Pushkino (or Pushkin or Pushkinskoye)

Recent information indicates that a special school for foreign Communists is located in a suburb of Moscow called Pushkino. The location and other descriptions available about this school suggests that it may be the same establishment reported several times during the 1940's where foreign Communists received training. In the earlier reports it was generally called Pushkin. The location may be similar to that of Pushkinskoye, described as one of the locations of the Comintern for a brief time in the early 1940's.

According to recent information, the Pushkino school is designed almost exclusively for foreign Communists, and apparently is equipped to handle a considerable number of students. It has no other specific address but reportedly is near a military airfield and is disguised as a convalescent home—a description similar to the "rest home" at Pushkin reported in 1943 as being actually a CP school for foreign trainees. Courses of study have been described as being generally the same for all foreigners at Pushkino. Apparently they center on three main subjects: philosophy, political economy and history of the CPSU.

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One interesting factor reported about Pushkino is that some courses—possibly many—are taught by foreign Communist functionaries themselves to their fellow countrymen. This may stem in part from language considerations, but it may also indicate that trainees at Pushkino are not considered on the same select educational level as those who attend the other CPSU training establishments. It is possible that Pushkino is designed to cope with comparatively large numbers of foreign trainees and for that reason, foreign functionaries assume administrative roles and the courses are simplified. The indication that the courses are generally the same for all foreigners, however, points up the fact that centralized control is exerted by the CPSU.

According to a recent report, there has been some discontent among foreign trainees with certain aspects of the courses given at Pushkino. Discontent has centered on a feeling that the courses overstressed the CPSU and underemphasized the CPs of other countries. Reportedly, the curriculum is to be modified in this respect.

Other

Reports are often so vague and confusing that it has not been possible to identify any other specific schools where foreign Communists may be receiving special Party training within the USSR. It is ~~felt~~, ^{believed} however, that other schools do exist. References to an Institute of Communist Studies, a Study Center, a Lenin Academy, a Karl Marx School, a Lenin Institute and a "special Party school" are but some of the various names received in reports. They may refer to some of the establishments discussed above or they may refer to schools which it has not yet been possible to identify.

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